THE PATRIOT

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INTRODUCTION.—THE PATRIOT has been started for a trial period of three months, for the purpose of supplying briefly striking facts and arguments relating to movements threatening the safety and welfare of the British Empire; movements, the dangers of which are either concealed or made light of in the majority of the newspapers. The public generally have been kept in ignorance for several years, through what appears to be a concerted policy between a section of the Government and an influential portion of the Press, both swayed by alien influences hostile to the Nation. There is no intention of producing the ordinary news of the established newspapers; but it is proposed simply to publish details omitted by nearly all of them, and yet of vital importance to the proper understanding of movements and tendencies below the surface of events. The paper starts with a circulation secured in advance: and its continuance will depend on merit and on the extent of its future support.

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THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION.

By THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Amid the alarums and excursions of the political party game many of the really important issues in the present situation are liable to be overlooked, and efforts are being made by interested parties to obscure them.

Among the principal causes of the present stagnation of trade are the state of the Continental Exchanges, the poverty of Central and Eastern Europe, and the ruin of Russia. In order to deal with these problems, an International Conference is to be held at Genoa, to which the Soviet Government is to be invited. This proposal should be judged in the light of the following facts. The Russian Soviet is largely composed of men who were, long before the Russian Revolution, agents in the pay of the German Government. When the time was ripe these agents were sent to Russia by the German Government with large sums of money, supplied partly by the German Imperial Bank and partly by a German-American-Jewish firm of international financiers, with branches in Hamburg, New York, and elsewhere. The Bolshevist Revolution was the work mainly of Russian and German Jews. Thus Germany, supported by a clique of international Jews, not only ruined Russia, and nearly succeeded in winning the war by doing so, but also was the means of setting up in Russia an organisation known as the Third International, for the purpose of spreading the seeds of revolution throughout the Entente countries, and especially throughout the British Empire. But this is not all. No sooner had the Bolsheviks accomplished their object in ruining Russia than they announced that they would encourage foreign capital to circulate freely in their country. Germany naturally took advantage of this to secure enormous concessions in Russia, and Herr Stinnes, the German millionaire, is responsible for a gigantic scheme for the exploitation of Russia with German capital. It seems clear that the Germans are using the Bolsheviks now in precisely the same way as they have in the past, to further their own ends, their goal being a great German-Russian combination which will dominate the world. This purpose will be greatly facilitated by the proposed recognition of the present Russian Government. It would therefore seem that, in order to enable Germany to pay her debts to us, we are going to hand over to her the industrial wealth of Russia, which has been stolen from its rightful owners by the Bolsheviks, and thus enable her to realise her plans for the future domination of Europe. And we are at the same time going to afford the Third International the means of continuing the work of undermining the British Empire and creating world chaos.

Not only does the Prime Minister make no attempt to deal with these realities, but he deliberately avoids them by an elaborate disquisition on the illogicality of refusing to negotiate with the Soviet when we have not objected to negotiating with the Turkish Government which massacred the Armenians. There is no analogy between the two cases, and if there were it would be entirely beside the point.

Another cause for our serious economic position has been the series of crises in the Labour world, resulting in the miners' strike of last summer. All the blame for what has happened, entailing as it has unemployment on a terrible scale and the practical bankruptcy of the trade unions, is laid by the Government and by the leaders of the Labour Party on the Bolshevik influences in the unions. Now, the fact is that, if either the Government or

the Labour Party leaders had had the slightest courage, the extremists would have had no influence at all. Nothing can be more contemptible, for instance, than the spectacle of the secretary of the Miners' Federation—who declared, previous to the strike, that "they were going to bring about a first-class economic crisis," and that "if the miners were beaten England was doomed"—laying the blame for that crisis on "the extremists." The truth is that the whole political Labour movement is rotten with Bolshevism, and this is not the view of a prejudiced "capitalist." It is admitted by all honest Labour writers, notably by Mr. Shaw Desmond in his work, "Labour—The Giant with the Feet of Clay." It is impossible to draw any line between the people in that movement who are "extremists" and those who are not, or between adherents and non-adherents of the Third International. The movement is a welter of contending revolutionary forces, founded on a fundamentally false philosophy, the antagonism to capital; and those who are most to blame are the "moderate" Labour leaders, because they know the falsity of this creed, because they allow themselves to be used as tools, and because they contrive to shirk the consequences of their actions by laying the blame for their own failure on the "extremists."

Yet if anybody dares to tell the truth about the Labour Party he is immediately condemned as "an enemy of Labour," as if these Labour politicians represented the working-men of England, instead of being, as they really are, their exploiters, supported by the political levies which, by a travesty of justice, are screwed out of the unwilling labourer.

It should be the business of the Government to show up this system, but it will not. Not only did it make no attempt to check the spread of foreign propaganda and money over here, but it declined repeated requests to publish the evidence regarding Extremist activities. For instance, the whole story regarding the plot of the Red Trade Union International, and the names of those engaged in it, was deliberately concealed by the Government until the present writer brought the facts to light. It almost seems as if there is a conspiracy on the part of Ministers and of the Labour Party to deceive the workingman, to keep him in the dark, and to involve him in disaster. The Government has for so long played up to the leaders of the Labour Party, cajoled and flattered the Labour agitator, and given way to his demands, however unjust, that the final débâcle of last summer must be ascribed in a large measure to it. A change which is not without its humour has now taken place in the Government's attitude. In order to obtain support for a tottering Coalition, Ministers aver that they are the only bulwark against Labour, and the politicians who surrendered to Mr. Smillie appeal for a united front against Mr. Clynes!

The public should not be deceived into thinking that the danger comes from the Bolsheviks in the Labour Movement. They are a negligible quantity. It comes from the weakness of the Government and from the Labour Party leaders, whose vested interests are the main hindrance to co-operation between Capital and Labour, which is the only hope for the revival of British industry.

Another great danger at the present time arises from the so-called "settlement" in Ireland. There are three movements in Ireland. There is a National Party, which may or may not be content with the measure of independence already granted, but which has emphatically declared that it is only a step on the way to complete independence. There is a Republican Party, whose main strength is derived from revolutionary Labour, represented by the Transport Workers' Union and the other unions affiliated to it. And, thirdly, there is an agrarian movement, designed to sweep away the landowner and substantial farmer, and establish the peasant on the land. These contending forces have hitherto been restrained from flying at one another's throats by hatred of England and of Ulster. Now that British troops and police are withdrawn, it is very difficult to see how Ireland can avoid anarchy. She is already swarming with Bolshevik agents, and is regarded by all Continental revolutionaries as "the Achilles heel of England" and the main weapon for the ruin of the British Empire. The danger is very great, and consequently no responsible Minister ever mentions it. But this is no reason why the public should not be alive to the situation.

One of the most alarming features of the present day is the confusion between right and wrong caused by the violation of all former standards of government, and the concealment of this situation by an organised campaign of humbug in the Press. The plain truth about Ireland is that a gang of conspirators by methods of terrorism succeeded in erecting a Republican Government in that country. The British Government, which had never wholeheartedly fought this conspiracy, eventually decided to surrender to it. Accordingly, the results of the whole miserable business are concealed by depicting it as "supreme statesmanship," and the military withdrawal from Ireland is described by the "Times" as "the pageant of evacuation" just to hide the fact that we are leaving the miserable Loyalists to the tender mercies of their bitterest enemies. Rebellion, murder, and robbery are no longer crimes if they are perpetrated in the cause of "national aspirations" or "self-determination," or some other canting phrase; and those who commit these crimes are described by His Majesty's Ministers as "honourable men." The Prime Minister has even uttered in Parliament an elaborate vindication of rebellion. In India we are pursuing the same course as in Ireland, and trying to justify our weakness and cowardice by the lie that we are satisfying the aspirations of the Indian people by our policy. And our sense of justice is displayed in the punishment of Mr. Gandhi's deluded followers and in his own complete immunity. All this is helping on the work of disintegration and assisting the forces of revolution, which are endeavouring to undermine the foundations of government and of society, and to disrupt the British Empire.

Another means of doing this is through "Internationalism." Thus an eminent writer in the *Times* says that one of the most vital needs of the present day is to discard patriotism and give up singing "Rule Britannia." In his hatred of patriotism he is joined by other intellectuals, and even by eminent ecclesiastics, who clamour for "a new concention of religion and morality." No doubt they are right. The Ten Commandments urgently require revision. It is impossible to subscribe to such injunctions as "Thou shalt not steal" and "Thou shalt not kill" when we establish a settlement in Ireland which is founded on the triumph of brigandage and assassination!

The evils we are suffering from are due to the war-weariness of the nation, which is reflected in the opportunism, vacillation, and weakness of the Government. Unless the nation shows its determination to have a strong Government, which will restore public faith in its authority, the Empire cannot resist very much longer the effects of the dry-rot which is spreading so rapidly.

THE INDIAN DANGER.

By LORD SYDENHAM.

The country is slowly awakening to a sense of the very dangerous situation in India which has been permitted, and even encouraged, by the action or the inaction of the Coalition Government. The Press, with few honourable exceptions, has either kept silence or has admitted misrepresentations of plain facts. In the House of Lords I have frequently attempted to convey a grave warning of the certain effects of Mr. Montagu's policy, and always the replies of the Government have been calculated to reassure the public and to proclaim peace where there is no peace. Speaking on July 7 last in terms amply justified by events, I said that "our authority in India is steadily waning," and that "there is no other authority which can possibly stand in its place," which must lead to "chaos darker and deeper than that which followed the collapse of the Moghul Empire." Lord Lytton, in reply, referred to my "grave exaggerations," and while admitting that the situation was "quite serious enough," expressed his "full and unabated confidence" in the proceedings of the Government of India. Almost immediately the Moplah rebellion, which was obviously impending, broke out, and has not yet been finally suppressed, after a loss of thousands of lives, Mohammedan and Hindu. On October 25 I initiated a debate on the situation as a whole, and I was sharply rebuked by Lord Curzon, who suggested that "the atmosphere in India" was "one rather of disappointment and disgust at the failure of the promises of the agitators to materialise" than of the "dangerous agitation" on which I had laid stress. Lord Lytton again whole-heartedly supported Mr. Montagu's policy, and accused me of wishing "to double or perhaps treble our forces in India," and to "put everybody into prison who ventured to criticise" the Government. Nemesis quickly overtook this unhappy statement, and in Calcutta alone 3,500 people were suddenly arrested, while the gaols proved inadequate to the demand. All this was done during the Prince of Wales's visit, with deplorable results.

On January 21 Lord Northcliffe telegraphed that the "Moslem situation is much uglier than the home Press appears to know," and we may now hope for the enlightenment of the public. Forgetting the outstanding experience of the Mutiny, he added that, "for the first time in Indian history, Hindus and Mohammedans are acting in close combination." Moslems and Hindu leaders are always capable of conspiring together against the British Raj for objects of their own, and while the present leaders were "acting in close combination," Hindus were slaughtering Moslems in Behar in 1917, and at Katarpur in 1918, just as Moslems have recently been murdering and torturing Hindus in Malabar. Such tragedies, which have required British forces to suppress, could not occur if there had been any real *rapprochement* between the dominant creeds, and under weak government they would be frequent.

It is quite impossible for anyone who has not studied Indian life and conditions on the spot to understand the causes and the real significance of all that is now happening. To reiterate that 94 per cent. of the people are illiterate, excitable, and credulous to the last degree, that there are fifty languages, 2,500 castes and sub-castes, that Hindus and Mahommedans as well as some other communities are in perennial antagonism, and that nothing but the just and firm rule of Britain has hitherto maintained peace and order among the seething mass of incongruous elements—all this conveys no definite idea to the home-dwelling Briton or the casual globe-trotter. There is nothing the least like it in his experience; there is nothing approximating to it in any part of the world.

When Mr. Montagu, at a most critical period of the war, yielded to the clamour of a little minority of English-educated Indians, headed for the moment by Mrs. Besant, he scornfully rejected the advice of men who knew India and cared deeply for the unfortunate people. Such men were "reactionaries" impiously daring to deny the blessings of democratic institutions to 320 millions of heterogeneous human beings, "marching," as he himself said, "in uneven stages through the centuries from the sixth to the twentieth," the great majority not having reached the fifteenth. He rushed off to India in the middle of the war, visited a few great towns, interviewed Mrs. Besant and a selection of Indian politicians, but no representatives of the masses, and induced an inexperienced Viceroy to sign the most extraordinary Report ever compiled. It contained some words of wisdom, many gross inaccuracies, and, as the *Times* justly stated, "much dreamy and even dangerous nonsense." It declared that "pledges have been given that the opportunity for full and public discussion will be afforded"; but Mr. Montagu resented public discussion, and later caused it to be known that proposals covered by two such distinguished signatures were sacrosanct. He then produced the Government of India Bill, and as large deputations, including Mrs. Besant's Home Rule League, had arrived in London, captured the Labour Party and frightened him by their demands, he was induced, in the carefully selected Joint Committee, to advance considerably beyond his original draft. Lord Curzon, knowing India well, had laid down some admirable principles which, he said, should be embodied in the Bill. They were flagrantly violated; but on the Second Reading he uttered no word of protest, and his unqualified support of his colleague undoubtedly influenced the House. The Bill was rushed through both Houses at breakneck speed and as this excessively complex measure could not be understood by anyone not familiar with the existing system of government, all amendments were easily defeated. Thus the most revolutionary Bill ever laid before Parliament was passed without knowledge. The valour of ignorance was never more strikingly exhibited.

Apart from the fatuous belief, cherished in Liberal and Labour circles, that popular government, reached by slow successive stages in the West, must at once prove suited to vast masses of heterogeneous Orientals, two main arguments were adduced in favour of Mr. Montagu's policy :—

(1) It was urged that, because the Princes and Chiefs of India contributed munificently in men and treasure towards the winning of the Great War, while the fine Indian Army—a purely British creation—fought with devoted gallantry in most theatres, it was incumbent upon us to grant an equivalent political reward. The fighting classes of India are drawn from special castes inhabiting limited areas, and the total force employed formed a trivial proportion of the population. Many educated Indians gave generous assistance to war-work; others made large sums of money, for which the utilisation of Indian resources provided great opportunities. On the other hand, the "politically minded" *intelligentsia* seized the chances offered to them by our national peril, redoubled their agitation, and, with German help, did their utmost to embarrass the Government. The effect of Mr. Montagu's concessions was to confer power on this class and to subject the fighting men to a domination which they detest. The results of this disastrous policy have yet to be reaped. It is certain only that Mr. Montagu's Constitution will last so long as there are British bayonets behind it and no longer.

(2) We were assured that, although the new and crazy form of government by diarchies might not be perfect, it would give peace in India, and that all the Moderates would rally to Mr. Montagu. This was naturally an alluring prospect at a time when we were fighting for our lives. The Extremists, however, derided the Bill from the first, found in it only the occasion for demanding complete Home Rule, implying government by the narrowest oligarchy that has ever claimed political control, and diligently set about perfecting the machinery for destroying British authority throughout India. The Councils having been boycotted, the Moderates succeeded in obtaining seats; but any honest examination of their proceedings will show that they also aim at weakening the only power that has ever given peace and order to India and maintained her frontiers inviolate.

We now have the curious spectacle of an unexampled series of concessions, amnesties, and humiliations suddenly exchanged for wholesale arrests of insignificant persons. In accordance with the experience of all Oriental history, as Government grew plainly weaker and proved incapable of protecting its adherents, hatred and contempt of the white race sprang up everywhere, and the alienation of the once friendly and trustful peoples is the most dangerous feature of the present situation.

(To be concluded.)

CONSERVATISM A LIVING CREED.

By NESTA H. WEBSTER.

Amidst all the varying political theories provided for the consumption of the elector to-day the difficulty is to find any of the elements known in the vocabulary of dietetics as "vitamines." Most are empty husks—husks of Conservatism, husks of Liberalism, husks of Socialism—dead formulas that hold no life-giving force within them; the result is that no political party succeeds in satisfying the electorate. The working man, above all, needs "something to bite on"; he has been fed too long on phrases.

Now, there is no reason whatever that Conservatism should be an empty husk; the shell that now bears its name once held within it very vital principles—honour, patriotism, loyalty, and justice—it combined the protective strength of feudalism with that respect for humanity as a whole which is the basis of true aristocracy. Kings of old washed the feet of the poor: what modern demagogue would willingly set himself to the task?

If, then, Conservatism has become a dead and empty creed, it is because the men who claim to represent it have renounced its fundamental principles, whilst clinging to the covering of party nomenclature. In this stricture must be included not only those so-called "Unionists" who have abandoned the cause from which they take their name, but also the innumerable ineffectual "duds" who have made of Conservatism a policy of inertia. For the active and vital tenets of the faith they profess they care nothing; question them on some matter of burning interest to the country and they will almost yawn in your face. It is they who have quenched enthusiasms, alienated supporters, and who have brought on Conservatism the reproach of "reaction," which the record of Conservative legislation shows to be no part of its true policy.

What in reality does the word "reaction" mean? Literally, "opposition to progress," not "opposition to destruction," as it has come to signify in the language of Socialism. The live Conservative is progressive precisely because he is opposed to destruction, because he recognises the impossibility of building a lasting structure without foundations. It is those foundations—the great traditions of our country—that he seeks to conserve. True Conservatism therefore stands on something definite—a certain solid ground of conviction.

What of the other political parties? What does Liberalism stand for? Avowedly for the same constitutional principles as Conservatism, combined with a greater rate of progress and a more active desire to redress the grievances of the proletariat. But the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and an examination of statistics will show that progress has not been more rapid under Liberal than under Conservative régimes, that, on the contrary, the greater number of real reforms affecting the conditions of the working classes have been brought in by Tory Governments. Of these, the right to form Trade Unions, the introduction of Conciliation Boards, of Housing Reforms, Mines Acts, Allotments Acts, are a few notable examples. Thirty-two out of fifty-five Acts passed for the

benefit of factory workers between 1802 and 1909 were Conservative or Unionist measures. Indeed, the most important measure of all, the Aliens Act of 1905, designed to protect the British working man's means of livelihood, was actively opposed by leading Liberals in direct defiance of the people's interests and desires. On this point, at any rate, Conservatism may rightly claim to have interpreted the popular will, for there is no question on which the working-man of this country feels more strongly than the appropriation of his job and the roof over his head by undesirable aliens. The crowd of unemployed that recently marched on a West End restaurant and demanded the expulsion of all foreigners employed there were for once acting on their own initiative, and not on that of the alien enemies who control the International Socialists' Club.

The fine record of Conservatism in the matter of reform should be more widely known amongst the workers. For whilst Liberals and Radicals have loudly trumpeted their achievements abroad, Conservatives have never fully appreciated the necessity for advertisement or even for eloquence. To tell the truth, Conservative speakers are too often intolerably dull.

But in a democracy eloquence is of the first importance. Multitudes are won, not by deeds, but phrases. And Liberalism has proved itself expert in its choice of "slogans." It is here rather than in any definite political creed that its success has lain in the past. Indeed, what its policy is would be difficult to define, for in so far as it departs from Conservatism it will be observed to consist largely in a series of concessions to those subversive and anti-patriotic doctrines which find their full expression in Socialism. Liberalism, is, in fact, a creed of half-measures; it stands upon no solid base of its own, but depends for its triumph over Conservatism on winning the approval of a more extreme party.

For this policy of concession Socialism entertains no gratitude whatever. "We hate the Radicals far more than the Conservatives," a British Socialist once remarked to me, "because they are hypocrites. Radicalism is only inverted capitalism. Radicals do not wish to do away with capital; they only want it to go into their own pockets."

The assertion was as sweeping and unjust as most of those that emanate from the jaundiced mind of the Socialist, but it illustrates the futility of attempting to conciliate the irreconcilable. With the Socialist it must be all or nothing, and by all he means wholesale destruction.

Yet even when we reach this extreme programme do we find any definite constructive policy? What, indeed, is the Socialist's creed? In reality, like the Radical's, it is a series of concessions to a still more extreme party—in this case Communism.

Socialists are very anxious to dissociate themselves from Communists. But wherein do they differ? Only in degree and method. The non-revolutionary Socialist does not want to destroy all property at once, but to proceed by gradual stages to the substitution of private by communal ownership. Socialism, then, like Radicalism, is a creed of half-measures. In the words of a Socialist whom I questioned recently for over an hour on the difference between Communism and Socialism, "All forms of Socialism tend towards Communism in the long run."

Communism, then, is the final goal, and here at last we come to a definite creed: a creed that is to say, which is not on the way to anything else, but stands on a settled conviction—the necessity for destroying our present social system, with its recognition of the right to private property, and replacing it by the communal ownership and control of the means of production and distribution.

Between this logical climax and Conservatism lie only shifting sands. The intervening political parties carry weight mainly in so far as they veer to one extreme or the other, and Liberal and Labour leaders alike may be observed seeking desperately to save themselves, now by clinging to the skirts of Conservatism, now by clasping the bloodstained hands of Lenin's agents. Stock-in-trade of their own they now have none; the old slogans have lost their power to charm the popular ear. Liberalism as a creed is dead, and Herr Tribitsch Lincoln and Sir Edgar Speyer have hammered the last nails into its coffin; Socialism, of the theoretical variety, so far as the "people" are concerned, has never been a living force. Its dreamy formulas may delight the heart of the Oxford "intellectual," but they leave the working-man cold. A Russian tram conductor, questioned by Maxim Gorky on his attitude towards Socialism, observed: "We have nothing to do with all that stuff. Socialism is an invention of gentlemen. We working-men are Communists." Unless he is an out-and-out Communist—that is to say, a mere destructionist, for of the system that is to succeed the process of destruction he has no conception whatever—the British working man maintains as a rule the same indifferent attitude towards revolutionary doctrines.

The truth is that the overwhelming mass of the "people" is Conservative at heart, but it is inarticulate, and allows a noisy and utterly unrepresentative minority to usurp its powers of speech. The report of the Paris police in 1795 is perfectly applicable to our situation to-day: "The people is sound, and judges sanely when it is not misled by agitators." If Conservatism would but realise that in the working-classes of this country lies its strongest support, if it would but rally round it that great quiescent force, and, appealing to the people's innate attachment to national traditions, were to put up candidates, not only of British birth but of British blood, free itself from all control by aliens, and go to the electorate with a more stirring slogan than Liberalism ever devised, "A land for Britons to live in!" it might sweep the country.

Mr. Lloyd George has declared that Liberals and Conservatives must stand together to resist Socialism. But on what are they to stand? On the slippery slope of Liberalism? On the Fabian quicksands, into which Whitehall officialdom, led by Mr. Lloyd George himself, is rapidly sinking and dragging the nation down with it? Only by taking up our stand on a rock of principle, the great traditions of our country in which true Conservatives believe, can there be any security. The elections of the future will be in reality a straight fight between Conservatism and Communism—between the principle of national security and the forces of destruction. Which will win the day? That which displays the greatest energy. In moral warfare the victory is not with the big battalions, but with the greater enthusiasms. If Conservatives will but make of their political doctrines a living creed they will prevail.

NOTES.

Krassin's Activities.

At the funeral of the veteran Socialist Mr. Hyndman the presence of many members of the *Social Democratic Federation* seemed to present a fine opening to Mr. Krassin, who had been taken to the ceremony by Mr. Clynes, whose weakness and amiability often get him into positions he would do better to avoid. Mr. Krassin wanted to deliver a funeral oration, but he has a better acquaintance with Germans and their policies than with Englishmen; and he was apparently unaware that Mr. Hyndman had been a patriot, and that the *Social Democratic Federation* has always fought Anarchism and its modern offshoot, Bolshevism. Mr. Krassin was not allowed to speak, and the several hundred people present lost nothing of value by the firm refusal of a hearing.

Krassin's Blunder.

To show that Mr. Krassin in the above incident tried to take the wrong sow by the ear, one need only quote from the January number of *Justice*, the organ of the *Social Democratic Federation*:—

> "Herr von Gerlach, writing in last Monday's Berlin *Welt am Montag*, says, 'France is not militarist, but she is nervous and, therefore, sets too high a value on military protection, which is more apparent than real. The Frenchman wants, at all costs, to be protected against another war.' Such an opinion, coming from a German source, should carry *some* weight with 'advanced' people here. Has France reason to fear the attitude of Britain? She has—as long as Mr. Lloyd George remains Premier of this country, and rules his creatures of the Cabinet. The Foreign Office is pro-German, and anxious to recognise that Bolshevist autocracy in Russia which members of the Government have denounced as emphatically as they did the Irish 'murder gang,' whom they now regard as honourable men! By Pro-German we mean support for the schemes of Hugo Stinnes and his fellow-capitalists. . . . In 1921 Hyndman said he believed Germany would be 'all over Russia,' with the consent of Lenin, in five or six years' time. . . . What a future we are laying up for Europe and ourselves!"

German Influences.

The recent visit of Mr. Stinnes to London has been followed by newspaper hints and talk in the City to the effect that Germany holds the keys to Russian trade, and, therefore, English industrials should co-operate with Germans in securing concessions from the Soviet Government, which itself should be recognised as the only one at present possible in Russia. This proposition is damned in advance by the fact that no industry or trading is possible in Russia until the people there have some freedom in working and talking, and right to own property; and directly there is any such partial return to liberty there will be wholesale execution, or disappearance, of the men responsible for the four years of terror, and who are the present Communist Government. The Russians are not going to forget the past horrors because their tyrants propose to modify somewhat their theories of a Socialist State at home, while they stir up revolution in the rest of the world. All conceptions of justice, both Divine and human, would be violated if the men responsible for the past are to continue in power in the future.

France and Germany.

To anyone who is interested in the mysterious currents which influence the formation of public opinion—by stating in advance in the Press what that opinion is—there is a fruitful field for reflection in the growing disposition shown to think of France as militarist and unreasonable, and of Germany as injured and needing every consideration. Whatever purely business reasons may incline the man in the street to feel, properly enough, that it is useless (and injurious to the world) to make demands for reparations which cannot possibly be met, it is an undoubted fact that the active cultivation of sympathy for Germany is the special work of those who, in foreign affairs, are untrustworthy guardians of the interests of Britain. The claims of Germany to reasonable consideration are usually put forward accompanied by quite unnecessary charges against France, whose natural fear and perfect knowledge of Germany are ample to account for every attempt to get reparation and future security. In judging between different opinions it is always desirable to allow for the mentality of the holders of those opinions; and it would be easy to trace back many of the current unfavourable opinions about France to sources which yielded no inspiration towards our victory in the war.

It is extremely difficult to judge between the conflicting opinions of travellers from foreign countries; and many contradictory judgments are being given about conditions in Germany. There is, however, general agreement on the broad fact that Germans are entirely unrepentant, and are working very hard to re-establish prosperity and strength. The use they will make of that strength is known to no man; the use they would like to make of it few people doubt who know them. The popular present-day English mode of thought is that it is dangerous to hit an enemy very hard, because it will leave a feeling of anger; this in spite of all experience that, with many nationalities, the exact degree of anger developed is of no importance; but the degree of strength exhibited to them is of importance. This argument is, of course, not directed against the firmly established justice and leniency of British conduct towards enemies; but the substitution of sentimentality mixed with politics in the place of justice is one of the evils of the day, and one threatening our future safety as an Empire.

It is reported by people lately returned from Germany, that the basis of some acute anger there against France is in the continuance of the occupation by coloured troops; but it is to be presumed that the French authorities have some reason for this, about which critics do not take the trouble to inquire. British soldiers who were for long in close touch with those French coloured troops in Germany deny the existence of any grounds for objection to them as far as conduct is concerned.

"THE PATRIOT."

IRISH SUPPLEMENT.

The first issue of THE PATRIOT was in the press when new facts relating to the situation in Ireland came to our knowledge, and we are therefore issuing this special Supplement for the information of Parliament and the public, prior to the ensuing debates.

Events are moving fast. We learn that it is now almost a certainty that Mr. De Valera, supported by the Physical Force Party of the Irish Republican Army, viz., that part which is sworn into the secret society of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and by the citizen army—the Red Army of the Third International, which takes its orders from Moscow—has by the force of terror all along exercised by them against the Moderates, secured domination. The Griffith and Collins Party, who are presumed by the Irish people to be in alliance with Great Britain, but who have no adequate police force to resist the revolution, are not likely to succeed in obtaining a vote of confidence from the people should a general election be held. It would probably have been otherwise if the election had taken place immediately after the Downing Street Treaty was signed or if the British garrison and police had remained in Ireland to put down the terror and protect the voters at the election. But under present circumstances there can be no freedom of election, as very few have the courage to vote against the wishes of the so-called army. Our Ministers, after deserting the loyal population, whom last year they commandeered in support of the Crown, are now deserting those rebel leaders with whom they were in conflict and with whom recently they have made the Treaty and entrusted with the powers of government. The situation is becoming not only chaotic, but perilous in the last degree.

The Empire Peril.

We publish an article on Ireland which shows how great is the peril to the Empire. It would seem inevitable that the fate of Russia awaits Ireland if left to herself. The Republicans can, and no doubt will, declare a Soviet Republic, and ally that Republic with Russia.

And What of Russia?

Read the text of the Treaty provisionally entered into by Mr. De Valera and the Soviet Government of Russia, which we print below. Is it not certain that here is an effective alliance which can successfully wage war against Britain on the revolutionary front, unless the challenge is taken up by our Government at once? Yet we find that the Prime Minister still pins his faith upon a "Conference" on the Downing Street model, but this time at Genoa; and when referring to this Conference before a recent political audience he declared he "saw no objection to negotiations with murderers."

The Soviet Conference.

Krassin, Lenin and Co. are clever and unscrupulous. They are supported by secret international influences which the British public as a whole have never been informed of. No sane and honest man, knowing the facts, could possibly make a contract concerning private or public interests with such people, for they openly preach the doctrine "The End justifies the Means," and state that they respect no contract with what they call Capitalist or Imperialistic Governments. We have strong reasons for believing that the Genoa Conference months ago was initiated and inspired by them, in the hope of drawing British representatives and the representatives of other Allied Powers into a trap; for Tchicherin in his secret instructions to his agents and diplomatic representatives abroad says: "We are rapidly approaching the moment when, by the force of historical logic itself, the capitalistic diplomatists will be inevitably (perhaps consciously) brought to make some stupidity, and all our efforts must be to encourage them to make the stupid mistake. Germany requires moral support; we will give it. She wants security of her Western frontier; we will promise her this security. France desires to see our helplessness; we will show helplessness. England wishes to exploit us; we will give her full occasion to do so. It is necessary to transfer the centre of gravity from us to the West; let European diplomatists crack their heads over unsoluble problems. As to ourselves, we will always have time to say our last word."

Appeal to the House of Commons.

The nation is in peril unless swift action is taken in the House of Commons at once. It is essential that Cabinet autocracy shall give way to Parliamentary Government, and the people be taken into the confidence of the Ministry. The country is threatened with revolutionary war on all fronts. Ireland is temporarily lost; India may follow; the Reds are trying to capture London. The controllers of revolution are intent on involving us in war—it matters not to them where. The British people must be told the truth. Then they will rise as one man, under trusted leaders, and crush this vile conspiracy.

The Soviet Government has Declared War.

Boudoir politicians insist that "a fair chance" be given to Soviet Russia. They ignore the fact that immediately after the 1917 Revolution the Soviet Government declared war against the whole universe. Lenin and Trotsky issued an Ordinance

assigning a large sum for International Revolutionary Propaganda. The decree runs as follows:

Taking into consideration that Soviet authority stands on the ground of the principles of International solidarity of the Proletariats and the Brotherhood of the Toilers of all countries, that a struggle against War and Imperialism only on an International scale can lead to complete victory, the Soviet of People's Commissaires considers it necessary to come forth with all aid, including financial aid, to the assistance of the left, Internationalist, wing of the Workers' Movement of all countries.

The decree then voted a large sum in support of the revolutionary movements in various countries, including the United Kingdom, which moneys were placed at the disposal of their foreign representatives, and accordingly Soviet Ambassadors were sent to all foreign countries—among others, Martens to America. Martens was rapturously greeted by the Irish revolutionaries, and at once allied himself with Dr. McCartan, the so-called Ambassador from the Irish Republic, who was returned as M.P. for South Armagh, largely on account of his Russian Soviet sympathies.

The Country is Waking Up.

The Duke of Northumberland and his friends for many months past have sounded the alarm and warned the Government and the people of the perils of Red Revolution. At last his warning seems to have influenced some Ministers and ex-Ministers. Mr. Winston Churchill, the Lord Chancellor, and Sir L. Worthington-Evans have said that all must stand by the Coalition in the great fight against Communism. But how is it we find the Prime Minister and Mr. Austen Chamberlain so ready to surrender to Communist tactics? Lord Long, on the other hand, is genuinely alarmed, and has a most excellent article in the *National Review* of this month, which fully confirms what the Duke has been saying for so long.

Ulster.

Sir James Craig has shown great tact and statesmanship in dealing with the Ulster question. He has not made any mistakes. There have been attempts made to trick him, but it is not easy to apportion the blame between his adversaries. One thing seems certain—that the Prime Minister, in his anxiety to patch up what looked like a compromise between Ulster and the Free State, and thus get himself out of an unpleasant tangle, said one thing to Sir James Craig and another thing to Mr. Michael Collins on the question of boundaries. He must have known that Sir James Craig would never consent to surrender nearly half Ulster to the Free State. He must also have known that Mr. Michael Collins, threatened by the left Republican movement, was not likely to agree—if he understood the proposition—to a mere unimportant adjustment of parish and county boundaries. There is now a complete deadlock, which may lead to war. After all, the people of the counties concerned have something to say in the matter, and the loyalist population within their boundaries, who pay nearly the whole of the taxation, are not likely to agree to place themselves under the Free State.

Lenin's Tactics.

Are not these "Conference mistakes" precisely what Lenin has been working for? It looks as if secret revolutionary agents have "wormed themselves into" the Conferences of our present rulers, for how else can we account for the fulfilment of the Soviet plan of campaign, which "encourages our diplomatists to make stupid mistakes," and thus create a situation which may lead to war or the alternative—ignoble surrender?

IRELAND.

The present situation in Ireland is dangerous to the last degree. It has already been made abundantly clear by the speeches of those who support the Treaty that there is little hope of Finality about it, while it raises new issues and new sources of quarrel between Ireland and Great Britain.

Those who support the Treaty have been forced to accept it merely as useful machinery for establishing an Irish Republic. Sinn Fein is split into two hostile camps, which were fairly evenly divided in a vote on the Treaty in Dail Eireann. It was carried by a majority of three. The extremists were in a position to defeat this vote had they wished to do so, but, as defeat would have given the British Government a reason for scrapping the Treaty and of postponing the evacuation of British troops, Mr. De Valera so organised his supporters in Dail Eireann that, while protesting against the Treaty and refusing to accept it, he nevertheless was able to arrange as the voting proceeded to produce the result which has been achieved. The withdrawal of the Crown Forces has placed him in a position of being able to wage war against the Provisional Government, which, he maintains, has no legal existence, and is merely exercising delegated powers of a British Crown Colony Government under the autocratic rule of the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council.

The British people, who have been fooled by the speeches of Ministers and by the false impressions created through the Coalition Press, if they think of the South of Ireland at all, think of it as a country of Peace and Amity, where old feuds have been forgotten and old-time enemies are rejoicing together in their Union of Hearts. Apparently the Government themselves imagined that these beautiful results sprang into being the moment that Peace was proclaimed, for they carefully abstained from inserting in the Treaty any provision for the protection of Loyalists in Southern Ireland before withdrawing the military and handing over the police to the Provisional Government. In this light-hearted fashion they divest themselves of all responsibility, legal or general, for the security of those who were England's friends, and who, therefore, made themselves the enemies of the enemies of Great Britain. In doing this the Government have committed a crime. The British people should understand what is going on, lest they, too, should become guilty of aiding and abetting. Irish Loyalists in Southern Ireland have no security for life and property. Land has been taken by responsible agents of Sinn Fein; it has been sold, and the proceeds retained by the Sinn Fein organisation, and Loyalists have to pay illegal taxes and levies to the I.R.A. All who have loyally supported British connection are viewed as traitors to the Irish Republic or Free State. Although there is no Amnesty for them recognised by the new authority, the British Government have granted a general Amnesty for offences committed by the rebels against the Crown. Hundreds of offenders, including convicted murderers, have been released.

On the other hand, law-abiding citizens who took no part in the recent struggle, but who are known by blood or religion to have had British sympathies, have been arrested, tried, and violently deported.

We have received reports of cases where professional men, solicitors and others employed by the British Government in the past, have within the last fortnight been taken to unknown destinations. There have been several cases of merchants and traders being similarly arrested and their industries seized. Large areas have been seized by armed Republicans, the cattle of loyalists driven away, and local Soviet Republics established, which defy the Provisional Government. We do not say that the Provisional Government approve of these actions. They are probably the work of the extreme Republican Party who support Mr. De Valera, but no effective effort has been made to check them or to bring those responsible to justice. Indeed, it is doubtful whether there is now any legal authority to punish anybody for crimes committed.

Thus it arises that over a great part of Southern Ireland anarchy and chaos exist. There is a reign of terror, and the mass of the population, who, of all things, desire peace, are frightened and terrified and compelled to obey the orders of the most extreme section of the Republican Party. The Irish Republican Army are going over to Mr. De Valera in large numbers, and are at present engaged in seizing motor-cars, bicycles, arms, ammunition, money, etc., and hope to provide the necessary equipment for overthrowing the Provisional Government by a *coup d'état*, which is confidently anticipated during the next few months. Thus the campaign of crime goes on unchecked.

A Protestant farmer was murdered at his own door in Co. Tipperary; a policeman was fired at and wounded in the streets of Dublin; British officers were fired at while hunting with the Tipperary hounds; a clerk of the Dublin County Council was held up and robbed of £500; the banks are being daily robbed of large sums of £1,000 and upwards. No Protestant or Loyalist is safe. The very fact that he is known to be a loyal British citizen or even to be willing to support the new Government set up by the British Government is sufficient crime in the eyes of these men.

We quite recognise that the Provisional Government are willing and anxious to check this sort of crime at the present time. It is obviously to their interest to do so, and we know of cases where Mr. Michael Collins' men are doing their best to protect the lives and properties of a loyal population. But this only increases the opposition of Mr. De Valera's party against them, who openly denounces these as British Government acts against the cause of the Republic.

The most serious side of the question arises from the activity of the Communist Party, which has been directly organised in Ireland from Moscow under the direction of Lenin and his agents. In Dublin alone it is stated that these men have a citizen army of 4,000 Reds. The manifesto published by them declares that they are out for a Soviet Workers' Republic, and, as means to that end, the destruction of the British Empire. These people have been supplied for some years past with propaganda and money direct from the Third International at Moscow. Lenin hopes by the establishment of Worker Soviets in Ireland to extend the Soviet system to Great Britain and the heart of the Empire. (See Communist literature on this subject.) To show how powerless the Free State Provisional Government is—recently there was a meeting of Irish farmers in Dublin, who called their attention to the various outrages against individual farmers in various parts of the country. It was stated that in some cases orders had been issued by Mr. Michael Collins to the local I.R.A. to put down these outrages, but that his men had mutinied and refused to do so, whereupon I.R.A. men were sent from other districts, but they also mutinied and refused.

There might be some hope for Ireland if the movement for independence was a bona fide National or Patriotic movement, confined to the shores of Ireland. But it is nothing of the sort. Those who control the illegal armed forces in the country are the direct and paid agents of those dark and sinister powers which during the war with Germany, and ever since the war, have been waging a secret campaign against civilisation in general and the British Empire in particular.

It is impossible to size up the Irish question without the examination of this great conspiracy. It is because the Government have not told the people of Great Britain that the Irish Rebellion was part of this great secret International War that mistakes have been made and Parliament has been induced to condone the abject surrender of British forces on the Irish front.

The real trouble is now only commencing, as is proved by a study of the article of Mr. R. Connolly (son of James Connolly who was executed after the Easter Rebellion). This man is known to be the Irish agent of Lenin, and employed in carrying out his policy. In a manifesto published in the "Workers' Republic," January 28, he describes the policy in detail, and points out the importance of capturing the trade unions—"which are always controlled by an insignificant, intensely active minority"—and

"of mobilising the force of these masses against the Irish Provisional Government by large-scale strikes, resulting from, say, the railway situation to-day, unemployed agitators to-morrow, or other industrial trouble bound to crop up. Under revolutionary leadership the extent of these, at first purely local strikes, would grow and embrace ever larger areas and ever greater masses of workers, and with this growth and the consequent realisation of their power by the strikers the demands and colouring of this movement against the Provisional Government would gradually change from being merely industrial to being political—would change from demands for petty industrial reforms to great political and revolutionary demands."

After outlining the progress of the revolt in town and countryside, Mr. Connolly proceeds to describe the formation of Workers' Councils :—

"Vast masses of workers would be on the streets, and industry and production would be completely dislocated. This would necessitate the creation, under the direction of the ever-present Communist Party, of independent organs, 'to make coherent the real needs of the workers engaged in the struggle.' These organs —the Workers' Councils—'are an accompaniment of any proletarian revolution. . . . In the beginning the city workers, generally the more advanced, will constitute these Workers' Councils. As the revolt or dissatisfaction in the army of the Provisional Government or among the Volunteers supporting it grows, the form of these councils will grow to Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.'"

This is precisely what is happening now in Ireland. The Irish Transport Union proclaims the one big Union of Southern Ireland, which by terrorism has forced practically all trade unionists into its ranks, and is establishing Workers' Councils in every town and village. These Workers' Councils are recruiting from day to day the extremists of the I.R.A. as well as all those soldiers of the Irish Republic who were enlisted to fight against the British Army of Occupation in return for the rewards to come. All these men will not receive the rewards which they expected from the Provisional Government. Thus dissatisfaction exists

among them, and they very rapidly join the Workers' Councils.

Mr. Connolly proceeds :—

"When this stage is reached the last phase of the Provisional Government has commenced. Not only will it now be threatened with workers' demonstrations, occasional lootings and confiscations, illegal and legal (those without and with the sanction of the Workers' Councils), but with the danger of an open armed assault on its stronghold and power. By this time the country will be so disorganised, and all production and transportation absolntely stopped except where directly allowed by the Workers' Councils in their own services, that the situation will be irremediable from the point of view of the Provisional Government. They will witness their authority being destroyed day by day, their forces helpless, and the councils becoming more and more masters of the country. But one solution will present itself when the councils begin to demand the resignation and abolition of the Provisional Government and the assumption of all State power by the central body, and that will be the final abdication of the Provisional Government, or else, which is unlikely, the bloody destruction of the Workers' Councils and the Red Guards, or the anticipation of this latter by the Red Guards and the swallowing up of the Provisional Government in its entirety. That the Provisional Government will attempt to compromise with the Workers' Councils, to gain a breathing space and probably arrange for assistance by its Imperial Master, is quite certain; but it will not deem this necessary until the situation is so very far developed that the Communists are already in control, which fact destroys for ever their chance of winning a way out by a compromise."

Here, then, is the great scheme of the International revolutionaries who desire the downfall of Great Britain. They have assisted the Irish Rebellion, professing national and patriotic ideals, merely for the purpose of compelling the British Government to evacuate; they have assisted in the setting up of what may be described as a Kerinsky Government of the Roman Catholic peasants and shopkeepers of Ireland, but are now planning the final destruction of the Provisional Government, as in Russia, by Soviets recruited from the landless and the lowest dregs of the population, who will gradually compel every workingman to join them, and the proletariats will appropriate to themselves the whole industrial capital—land and wealth—of the country.

It is clear that before that stage is reached Great Britain will have to intervene, unless she, too, is prepared to accept the rule of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a Russi n plan.

A correspondent from Co. Tipperary wrote on the 4th inst. :—

There is no need to send individnal cases of breacnes of the "Truce" now; it is a dead letter all over these parts, and the Free State "authorities" seem helpless. Cashel and Tipperary towns have established paid local police, but the rest of this part of Ireland is at the mercy of any man with a pistol. One friend within the past few days has had 45 sheep stolen; another seven heifers; a third five bullocks. A lady, in the absence of her son, has had her windows broken in a lonely country house in the middle of the night. The house of a gentleman who was out of the country was commandeered last week for a Republican ball. It is a beautiful house, expensively furnished. The ball was some days ago, the "guests are there still." Eight motors in the neighbourhood have been stolen, and much money. The election is spoken of with a shudder. Nationalists and Free Staters expect no mercy.

A Co. Cork correspondent wrote on the 3rd inst. :—

The country is becoming more lawless and unsettled every day, and, of course, no steps are taken to remedy existing evils. The Republican Party are very strong, and it seems quite likely that they will oust the moderates before long. In any case, they are powerful enough to obstruct to snch an extent that no Government will be able to function.

A correspondent wrote on the 1st inst. :—

The picturesque valley of the Cummeragh Monntains, in the heart of Co. Waterford, it is now claimed, has attained the dignity of a separate Republic. The valley is snrrounded on three sides by the Cummeragh Mountains, and is enclosed on the fourth by the River Suir. It measures roughly twenty-three miles in width and nine miles in length. R.I.C. barracks formerly existed in this area—at Ballinamult, Ballinacarhnry, the Nire, Ballymakee, and Kilmahan. The police were recently withdrawn from all these barracks. The troops have now been withdrawn from Kilmacthomas, commanding the head of the valley, leaving the field open for the Republican enthusiasts. These were among the ardent followers of De Valera. They now claim that a Republic exists within the area of their secluded valley, and freely issue and enforce their orders without let or hindrance.

THE IRISH REPUBLICAN TREATY WITH THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT

The following is a copy of the original document captured by the British authorities in Dublin :—

Draft of Proposed Treaty between the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the Republic of Ireland.

Desirous of promoting peaceful and friendly relations between all nations of the world, and especially between the people of Russia and the people of Ireland, and striving to co-operate in the interest of the advancement of the human race and for the liberation of all people from imperialistic exploitation and oppression, the Governments of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and of the Republic of Ireland, by authority conferred upon them by their respective constitutions, and in the name of the people of Russia and the people of Ireland, agree as follows :—

1. The Government of the Republic of Ireland pledges itself, its resources, and its influence, to promote the recognition of the sovereignty of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic by tho nations of the world.

2. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic pledges itself, its resources, and its influence to promote the recognition of the sovereignty of the Republic of Ireland by the nations of the world.

3. The Government of the Republic of Ireland pledges itself to exert its influence on all organisations and elements which are responsive to it in order to prevent the transportation of arms, munitions, and military supplies intended for use against the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

4. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic undertakes to exert pressure on any nation, organisation, or group of people with whom it has influence to prevent the shipment of arms, munitions, and military supplies intended for use against the Republic of Ireland.

5. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic accords to all religious denominations represented in the Republic of Ireland every right accorded to religious sects by the Russian Constitution, and entrusts to the accredited representative of the Republic of Ireland in Russia the interests of the Roman Catholic Church within the territory of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

6. In any nation where only one of the contracting parties has diplomatic facilities, these facilities will be at the disposal of the other contracting party.

7. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic undertakes to sell whatever commodities are exported from Russia to Ireland, either directly or indirectly, exclusively through the medium of institutions designated by the Government of the Republic of Ireland, and at prices and on terms agreed upon with that Government.

8. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic agrees to place orders for whatever commodities may be bought in Ireland only through the institutions designated by the Government of the Republic of Ireland so far as these privileges are applicable to such institutions.

9. The privileges outlined in the preceding two paragraphs (7 and 8) will extend to extra-territorial institutions controlled by the Government of the Republic of Ireland in so far as these privileges are applicable to such institutions.

10. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic will invite and accept the services of citizens of the Republic of Ireland in the reconstruction of Russian industries, and give special consideration to offers of services made through the Governmental agencies of the Republic of Ireland and to persons and concerns recommended by the Government of the Republic of Ireland for the granting of concessions for the exploitation of the natural resources of Russia.

11. The Government of the Republic of Ireland pledges itself to facilitate by all possible means the efforts to bring sanitary and medical relief to the people of Russia.

12. The avowed purpose of the contracting parties being to end imperialistic exploitation, to ensure the freedom of the world's highways, to bring about universal disarmament, to make obligatory the arbitration of all international disputes, and to secure peace to the peoples of the world, they agree to enter into a league with similarly minded nations, each nation to be represented by delegates freely elected by their nationals.

13. Any disputes regarding the interpretation of any clause of this treaty will be referred to the league so constituted, and a majority vote of the States therein represented will decide the matter at issue.

14. As the warranty of treaties among free peoples rests ultimately upon the goodwill and good faith of the peoples themselves, the contracting parties hereby pledge themselves each to foster among its respective nationals friendship for and understanding of the other.

15. The duration of this treaty will be ten years. Notice of intent to withdraw can be given only at the end of the ninth year, and, if not then given, the treaty will remain in force for a further period of ten years.

HIS MASTER'S VOICE.

The voice of "Labour" was telegraphed to our Prime Minister while at Cannes, and in the following words:—

> Eight million organised British workers, realising the close connection between the decay of British trade, with the consequent dangerous growth of unemployment, and Russian exclusion from the comity of nations, strongly urge full political recognition of the Russian Government by Britain, preferably jointly with the Allied Powers, otherwise alone.

Who are the ventriloquists who produced this voice of eight million organised workers? It may be noted in advance that eight millions is just about the total of the membership of the whole 1,300 existing trade unions; but those unions include clerks, chemists, actors, journalists, civil servants, hairdressers, midwives, etc., etc. The following are some of the signatories to the telegram sent to Cannes:—

J. R. Clynes, J. Bromley, Robert Williams, Neil Maclean, Capt. Grenfell, Ben Spoor, Norman Angell, Bertrand Russell, H. W. Massingham, A. MacManus. To say these are entitled to speak for Labour is as true as to say the yelps of the shepherd's dog voice the considered views of the sheep. One or two of these men were patriotic during the war, but the record of most, as pacifists or revolutionaries, should exclude them from speaking for Britons. Three are literary gentlemen.

Norman Angell is not considered an authority on the interests of England. The Hon. Bertrand Russell is a learned philosopher, who wrote of the origin of the war:—"*When two dogs fight in the street, no one supposes that anything but instinct prompts them, or that they are inspired by high and noble ends. They fight merely because something angers them in each other's smells. What is true of dogs in the street is equally true of nations in the present war.*" Mr. Russell became so active as a pacifist later on that he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, for breach of the Defence of the Realm Act, the magistrate saying: "Mr. Russell seemed to have lost all sense of decency and fairness, and the offence was a very despicable one. He had previously had a warning on this very subject."

Then there is Mr. Massingham, another of the "highbrows" of Labour, whose paper, the *Nation*, was an encouragement to the Germans, and at one time had its foreign circulation forbidden because its interpretation of the German retreat on the Somme was to the discredit of our Army, to the comfort of the German Press, and in absolute contradiction of the facts, as later admitted by General Ludendorff in his memoirs, and as clearly given at the time by Field-Marshal Haig in his despatches. Mr. Massingham took part in every pacifist and defeatist movement to embarrass the Government during the war, and in all foreign questions he can be safely counted on as anti-British. He attended, and took part in, the Leeds Conference of June, 1917, which was for the purpose of "*demanding the complete charter of a social, political, and economic liberty won by Russia; and, finally, to call for the establishment in this country of a Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.*"

Some of the other signatories are men who worked steadily during the war to cause strikes of munition workers, and in every way tried to prevent victory for our armies; and ever since the Armistice they have worked for destruction of industry, and for the general purpose of creating discontent. What a scandal! that the average loyal working man should be taken by our Prime Minister and the poor, misinformed British public as speaking through such voices! After the Armistice, and when there was no longer the excuse of the peril of the country for the granting of every demand of a small section of labour, there has, nevertheless, been a continuance of the habit of weak concessions to agitators, with the present resulting crippled condition of industry, the shameful failure of house-building organisation, and the continuous obstacles raised to the employment of ex-Service men.

Mr. Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labour, has protested, in the name of American organised Labour, against the participation of the United States in the Genoa Conference, because it would be a recognition of the Russian Soviet Government. The British political Labourites have continuously intrigued and shouted for recognition of the bloody tyrants of Russia and the merciless exploiters of Russian working-men.

BRITISH AGRICULTURE.

Mr. Balfour, in an address at the Washington Conference, speaking of the naval needs of Great Britain, dwelt on our extraordinary position created by the fact that there was never in hand more than a seven weeks' full supply of the actual daily food of the people. This condition—affecting our very existence in time of war, and making our peace-time comfort dependent on seaborne exports to the outside world—is a striking commentary on the national importance of agriculture. That importance needs no arguments; and yet it is continually being overlooked, because farmers have not been efficiently organised against neglect by politicians and the Press in the only way possible to get agricultural interests properly considered. It is satisfactory to note that farmers are now realising the necessity for greater activity in the Farmers' Unions throughout the country.

Agriculture is now suffering severely from overtaxation; want of credit facilities; and from the attentions of Labour agitators, who for several years have been spending large sums in the stirring-up of discontent, the insistence on a theoretical scale of wages, and the fixing of hours of work which ignore the calendar, the laws of nature, and the essential characteristics of man and beast.

THE PATRIOT is promised the assistance of agriculturists of experience in explaining the difficulties of the farmer and encouraging those interested in a demonstration of their right to be considered more by the Government.

CIRCUMSTANCES ALTER CASES.

The cries of politicians for reforms and economy, while in opposition, have been long known as no safe indication of action likely to follow a change of Government; and this fact comes down to us in the ancient lines:—

> As bees, on flowers alighting, cease to hum,
> So, on Treasury Benches seated, Whigs are dumb.

SEVERE PEACE TERMS.

An American has pronounced that there will be no real peace in the United States until "every Irishman in the country has killed a nigger and been hanged for it."

THE IRISH CAULDRON.

The feeling at the back of the heads of very large numbers of Britons is one of relief at the idea that Irishmen have now got to try what it is like to govern the Irish. But this is a comfortable feeling which cannot be enjoyed with a clear conscience; for our Government, having cultivated the strength and determination of the worst elements of the country and their foreign supporters by failure to make the law respected, have now left all the inarticulate better elements of the people under the heel of their supposed representatives, elected at the pistol point. The gift of freedom to fight things out should have followed an exhibition of impartially applied justice, instead of following an exhibition of irresolution and moral cowardice, which, in the language of the Royal Commission on the cause of the 1916 rebellion, "*is the negation of that cardinal rule of government which demands that the enforcement of law and the preservation of order should always be independent of political expediency.*"

However, the prickings of conscience for national misdeeds keep few people awake of nights, and the national tendency is to accept as inevitable the ills brought on us by the doings of political mandarins, who are allowed to err without risk, except the slight danger of any consequential loss of office for a time. What all reasonable people hope for is that there will be developed a majority party faced with the necessity for looking squarely at facts, and recognising that anarchy is not freedom—except for a very few. When the blame for everything can no longer be put on to English oppression, it is possible that even the speakers of the ineffable rot at the sittings of the Dail Eireann will be forced to pull their heads out of the drifted sand, and observe the direction of the wind.

Whatever hopes we may have of something good eventually coming out of evil, it is certain that England is not free of all troubles; and some will be serious, both in settling the terms of the Treaty and in relation to Ulster. We have not washed our hands of Ireland. What a beautiful prospect opens out in the interminable conferences on the financial terms alone! In the draft Treaty certain financial claims by this country against the Free State are to be subject to claims and offsets on the other side. It requires no great imagination to see in the mind's eye a few items of those counterclaims—the "over-taxation" of Ireland since the Union, the destruction of industries by misgovernment, the loss of population by ditto, and the moral and intellectual damages of the delay in development of national aspirations and the national language; for which items the damages could only be assessed at so much per head of population, including all the departed who had suffered.

For Ireland in future the desertion of our Government in the face of the enemy has left a terrible danger to be faced. The Communist Labour Party, financed from America and Russia by the Red International, has got a firm hold in the country, and all the industrious and steady elements of the nation, who have been induced—by nationalist aspiration or by terror—to connive at the past crimes of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Irish Republican Army, will now have to fight for their freedom against the forces which have grown up. The Catholic Church, which has made no adequate stand against crime, will find that the influences at the back of the F.B.I. are not merely against the British Empire, but are just as much against religion and any ordered government such as hitherto understood among civilised people.

FORGOTTEN THINGS.

EXTRACTED FROM A WAR-TIME SCRAP-BOOK.

MAY, 1915.—An advance of 17½ per cent. on Miners' standard wage rates, making a total of 77½ per cent. on standard rate.

JUNE, 1915.—Government White Paper says, "If there were no avoidable absenteeism the output of coal would be increased between 13 and 14 million tons."

JULY 13, 1915.—Government proclamation making the Munitions of War Act apply to the dispute in South Wales coalfield, making it an offence to take part in a strike or lock-out.

JULY 16 to 22, 1915.—Strike of coal miners nevertheless. Concessions made to get work resumed.

SEPT. 15, 1915.—2,000 miners come out on strike in South Wales.

SEPT. 28, 1915.—2,000 miners come out at Aberdare.

PARIS, SEPT., 1915.—The following verses appear, written by M. Paul Liseron:—

LES MINEURS GALLOIS.

Et qui donc êtes-vous? Vous, mineurs d'Angleterre?
Pour vous placer plus haut que les lois de la guerre!
Plus haut que le devoir et que l'humanité!
Plus haut que le pays! Plus haut que l'équité!
Quelle est donc votre audace et votre effronterie,
Pour marchander vos bras, lorsque votre Patrie
Lutte pour maintenir vos libertés, vos droits? . . .
Lorsque le sang anglais, pour vos foyers, vos toits,
Coule et rougit le sol sur les champs de bataille!
Quand le Royaume-Uni, d'un même cœur travaille
Pour aider ses soldats à soutenir l'assaut
Que Vandales et Huns, aux plaines de l'Escaut,
Livrent contre nous tous, avec leurs mœurs barbares,
Vous, les Mineurs Gallois, seriez-vous des ignares
Qui ne connaitraient rien que leurs vils intérêts?
Syndiqués conscients? Entendez les hoquets
De vos frères tombés au milieu de la lutte,
Parce que le canon s'arrête à la minute,
Où, traîtres, vous quittez vos travaux de mineurs
Et privez le combat de boulets. . . . Ah! crâneurs
Misérables! . . . C'est voue, qui, pour quelques centimes
Commettez en commun pareils faits, pareils crimes! . . .
Syndiqués conscients? . . .Félons au syndicat
Des peuples alliés qui soutient le combat
Contre cet ennemi de la classe ouvrière,
Qui voudrait subjuguer toute la terre entière. . . .
C'est vous, mineurs! vous seuls, dane votre humanité,
Qu'on trouva pour trahir la sainte liberté!
Que les quelques shellings que vous vaudra votre acte
Viennent brûler vos doigts, et consumer le pacte
Qu'en un jour de malheur vous avez obtenu!
Oh! je désirerais que l'on vous mit à nu
Et qu'on vous fit aller, ainsi, dans les tranchées
Où, vos masses seraient, par l'ennemi, fauchées! . . .
Quand un soldat déserte, on le met au poteau!
Vous avez déserté, sous votre noir manteau,
En face l'ennemi! Or, les lois de la guerre,
Parmi les nations d'Europe et de la terre,
Punissent un tel fait, par la peine de mort! . . . .
Je ne sais si demain tel sera votre sort?
Je ne sais pas si Dieu, dans le calme du temple,
Vous absoudra? Je sais qu'il faudrait un exemple,
Et que vous méritez les plus durs châtiments!
Je sais que les combats sont encore fumants
Et la terre rougie avec le sang des vôtres!
Je sais que parmi vous, vous avez des apôtres
Qui vous ont conselllé ces crimes innommés!
Je sais que tous en chœur les avez consommés,
Et fait aux Alliés, cette outrageante injure,
Qui sera, pour vous tous, la grande flétrissure! . . .
Oh! les mauvais bergers! Oh! le mauvais troupeau,
Qui salissez ainsi votre noble drapeau! . . .
Le drapeau syndical gardera cette tache. . .
Voue l'avez décoré d'un si vilain panache.
Qu'il ne pourra jamais, jamais plus s'en laver!

* * *

N.B.—That the disloyalty of many miners during the war was entirely due to misleading by political agitators is indicated by the striking fact that in 1917 a band of Northumberland miners, in order to show their spirit of sacrifice for the country, publicly burnt a large sum in War Bonds which represented their savings; and it is well known that large numbers of British miners volunteered early in the war, and did splendid service while their leaders at home were betraying them. Since the war the trade union leaders have exploited the services of the loyal fighters to get credit for miners as a class with the befooled public, while destruction of the mining industry was in progress by strikes and politics.

NOTES ON LABOUR.

NOTE.—Nothing which may appear in this column is dictated by antagonism to working men or to trade unions in their proper sphere of operation; but a continued exposure will be attempted of the Politicians, Theorists, and Revolutionaries who have during years of organisation and penetration corrupted the unions and misled their members, with the ultimate aim of establishing some kind of Socialistic State. "Labour" is now a Socialist political party, quite distinct from real labour.

Confusion of Issues.

The public have been hopelessly, and intentionally, confused on the subject of Labour, so that all kinds of purely political questions have been obscured by a mass of sentimentality and misrepresentation. To many good-hearted people the word Labour represents some assumed overworked and underpaid class, exploited by another class of soulless employers; and the sympathy thereby evoked is industriously worked upon by a body of political Labour leaders. There is such a misconception of facts that many people can be heard to say that "the Labour Party cannot make a worse mess of governing than present politicians," thus ignoring the essential truth that most of our mess at home and abroad comes from steps forced on the Government by the Labour Party, in pursuance of their ultimate aims.

THE LABOUR PARTY.—I.

"Labour" to-day is not the mass of workers. "*Labour*" is a political party working for *Socialism*, but claiming (without warrant) to speak for all working-men because the party control, through extremist officials, many trade unions, although these include only one-third of the British workers.

The Leaders.—The Labour Party is run by several groups of "Intellectuals," political trade-union officials, and revolutionary Communists. Some of these people are under the influence of foreign enemies of the Empire. The men and women of the managing groups are all united in having cast off Patriotism for Internationalism, and in their determination to destroy Capitalism; towards which object the first stage has been to make industry impossible by incessant strikes and restriction of output. The great coal strike was a master-stroke for the policy of crippling industry and creating discontent; but the misinformed public think the failure to pull off the general strike and the resulting financial injury to trade unions and miners have made Labour moderate. The Labour Party will continue to exploit the suffering they have produced by appealing to the sympathy of the nation to get ruinous financial measures of relief—all essays in Socialism.

The public have been kept for six years in ignorance of the real movers and aims of the Labour Party, through the blindness (or worse) of most of the newspapers, and through the enormous propaganda work of misinformation: both helped by the absence of plain speech in Parliament. The *Independent Labour Party* printed during the last two years of the war 33,000 books, 300,000 pamphlets, and 4,000,000 leaflets, all detrimental to the active prosecution of war and to the welfare of Britain. This I.L.P. is the most influential power in the real Labour Party, and is more *openly* Socialistic than the Parliamentary section known to the general public. Its avowed and official aim is to "*oppose all attempts to bring about any rapprochement between Labour and Capitalism, or any method of compromise aimed at arriving at a more amicable relation between Labour and Capitalism short of the total abolition of the Capitalist system.*" This definite policy was at the bottom of all the so-called "Labour unrest" during the war; and it was powerfully helped by the efforts of all the red revolutionary bodies in the country, and some outside the country.

(*To be continued.*)

CO-OPERATIVES AND "LABOUR."

The Labourites have been trying for a long time to get a grip on the Co-operative Societies; this not merely for the securing of votes at elections, but in order to control their cash, credit, men, and stocks of food, in case of civil disturbance from a general strike, always in contemplation, for starving the nation into surrender to a minority class. There are a large number of Socialists among the officials and members of the Co-operative Societies; and a serious flirtation has been proceeding between the officials and the Labour Party. The Independent Labour Party, in their very latest repainted platform of policy for controlling all industry, have generously promised "*to strengthen and extend the Co-operative movement, with a view to its participation in the administration of the Socialist Commonwealth.*"

Now, there is a severe competition in the designing of Commonwealths. Some of the most advertised are the Socialist, the Co-operative, the Industrial (or Communist), and the Guilds. If any one of them ever got fairly going, the title would have to be changed from Commonwealth to "Commonpoverty" beyond all question; but meantime the Co-operatives are not only believers in their own capacity to design a new earth, but, pending its arrival, they propose to get a larger representation in the existing Parliament. At present they have only one full-blooded member, and in the next general election they insist on "Labour" dividing constituencies with them, and thus securing mutual aid and support. This means increased energy, and the strength given by unity. in the next elections, and it will require in most constituencies a decided waking up of voters who do not want Socialism as a cure for all the evils which Socialists have already forced on the Government of our great Empire.

At first glance, Co-operatives would seem to belong to the doomed capitalist class, and therefore no natural bedfellows of the Labourites. The Co-operative Movement has assets of over £90,000,000; it has liabilities to shareholders and depositors of over £70,000,000, and pays interest thereon, as well as dividends to purchasers of goods traded in. Nevertheless, as already stated, there is a strong element of Socialists in the official ranks, bitten with the idea that a society and an industrial system, which are the complicated evolution of centuries, can be rearranged with scissors and paste to suit the contradictory and self-destructive views of a bunch of theorists. who ignore the ineradicable elements of human nature, and the unyielding nature of certain economic laws.

"The science of constructing a commonwealth. or renovating it, or reforming it, is, like every other experimental science, not to be taught *a priori*."—Burke.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NOTE.—While inviting correspondence, we take no responsibility for the opinions expressed.

THE EDITORS.

To the Editors.

Dear Sirs,—I send you herewith the names and addresses of fourteen subscribers to the three months' issue of the paper projected, and wish the publication entire success. It will come at a particularly useful moment, with a general election in prospect.—Yours, etc.,

E. J. PENNEFATHER.

Mount Langton,
Rodwell, Weymouth.

Dear Sirs,—I welcome the notice of the proposed paper, as there is great need for such a publication at the present time.

From the reference to Agriculture as one of your subjects I presume you intend to advocate the interests of British Agriculture, which is suffering terribly from neglect of Government. It is the industry above all which deserves to be protected by the State. Is it, or is it not, urgent that our people should obtain as much of their food supplies as is possible from within the shores of the British Isles? Dependence on foreign food imports proved a national danger during the war. The danger is not over. Our independence as a nation is prejudiced if the foreigner controls our food supplies, but the policy of the present Government in dealing with agriculture has been that of scandalous incompetence, vacillation, and hypocrisy. They made a contract with the farmers to grow corn over a period of years under a system of guaranteed prices. Within six months of the passing of the Agriculture Act, 1920, the contract was scrapped. Corn cannot be grown in competition with the present prices of foreign grain and at the present rates of agricultural labour. In addition to this, the industry bears an excessive proportion of Imperial and local taxation. Unless something is done—and that soon—to give some relief from this heavy burden, British agriculture will be in a perilous condition.

I hope, therefore, that your paper may be a means of rallying the interests which are concerned in land and agriculture; and, by drawing attention to the grievances from which the landowners and farmers are suffering, you will try to attract public interest and stimulate the discovery of some remedy.—Yours faithfully,

C. W. T.

Chichester,
February 1, 1922.

Dear Sirs,—I am connected with young men in Bermondsey, Rotherhithe and Southwark, who were boys under my charge before the war; thoroughly patriotic during the war, and now out of work and drinking in speeches they have plenty of time to listen to, which convince them that Germany did not begin the war, but certain Englishmen; that it would have been much better for British workmen if we had lost the war; that their lives or health have been wantonly thrown away; that all proofs that the war was engineered by Englishmen, with names, are printed in the papers they take, and the fact that these statements are not contradicted proves that they can't be contradicted. They say: "Moreover, our M.P. tells us these things, and he must know." I don't think they ever hear anything on the other side, and these are the ideas I want disproved—in language they can understand. Would you kindly send me some suitable pamphlets or leaflets?—Yours faithfully,

Chelsea, February 3, 1922. E. L.

Dear Sirs,—I shall be happy to subscribe to any paper which will help to bring together Conservatives under a loyal, patriotic, trusted leader. I enclose the form you sent me duly filled up.

What the country needs is a Government conducted by men of *character* and men of *honour* and *courage*. It has had more than enough of the slim tricksters, who cannot be trusted from one day to another and are now occupied in misdirecting the affairs of their country.—Yours faithfully,

Somerset, January 20, 1922. A COLONEL.

Dear Sirs,—I am much obliged for your circular letter of the 3rd inst.

Your scheme, in my opinion, is *most* necessary, and I hope to get you a number of subscribers here. I shall subscribe myself, and will work amongst the "Masons" here, and a number of other leading men. I am acquainted with a good many both in Leeds and Bradford.

Would you kindly send me a supply of your circular letter, as I could best work through a sort of sub-agency here? I know that many will be willing to help.—Yours faithfully,

Leeds, January 5, 1922. W. A. F.

Dear Sirs.—I have received the paper regarding the proposal to start a paper to enlighten the general public on the subject of the propaganda which appears to be agreed upon by the present English Government and the Press, and as I have lived for thirty years in Ireland and believe the doings of Sinn Fein and other ruffians to be allied with dangerous Communistic movements. I enclose 7s. 6d. subs. for the three months.—Yours faithfully,

Bristol, January 11, 1922. E. S. S.

A GLOSSARY OF POLITICAL AND LABOUR TERMS.

No. 1.

As there is a demand for definition of many terms recently introduced in journalism, the following will be continued week by week.

A.

Absenteeism.—The loss of time by workers who frequently take a day off, or do not work full number of regular working hours in a day. In South Wales collieries alone, in the summer of 1916 over 10,000 miners were voluntarily absent from work every working day.

Anarchism.—An Anarchist in theory is one who recognises no law except the law of nature: he is without ties of Church, of family, of State, or of nation; and takes no part in the formation of a common conscience or general will. He will work with Socialists or Syndicalists in destruction of existing society and industry; and then proposes to do as he pleases. Methods of Anarchists differ all the way from those of Tolstoy, who refused to employ force even to fight evil, down to those of ordinary Anarchists whose ideas begin and end with dynamite.

Arriviste.—One who pushes himself forward, by any sort of means, so long as he arrives at the object of his ambition.

A.E.U. (late A.S.E.).—**Amalgamated Engineering Union.**

A.S.E.—**Amalgamated Society of Engineers.**

B.

Black-Coat Labour.—The people who work for the political aims of the **Labour Party,** but who are not of the class usually described as Labour.

Blackleg.—A trade-unionist who continues at work after a strike is started; also a non-unionist who takes the place of a striker.

Black-work.—Any product of the labour of **Blacklegs,** which must not be handled or worked on by trade-unionists.

Block Voting (see **Card Vote**).

Bolshevism.—The policy of the extremist section of the Socialist parties of Russia. The policy is destruction of capital and landlordism, effected by the killing of capitalists and the more highly educated people; the nationalisation of all industry; the coercion of labour to prevent starvation; the prohibition of trade-unionism; the stoppage of freedom of the Press; and the prompt execution of anyone suspected of being anti-Bolshevist. It is the dictatorship of a few men who are not working men.

Bolshie.—Abbreviation of Bolshevist. Often used loosely in England to describe extremists, revolutionaries, and those in favour of "Direct-Action."

Bourgeoisie.—Plain middle-class people: in Russia, used in a wide sense by Bolshevists, to mean the educated and the capitalist class who are to be destroyed. (See **Intelligentsia**).

Boycott.—To put a black mark against persons or firms, to warn others not to deal with them.

B.S.P.—**British Socialist Party,** successors to the Social Democratic Federation, and made up largely of orthodox followers of **Karl Marx.** (See **Solidarity of the Proletariat,** and **N.S.P.**)

B.W.L.—**British Workers' League.**

Bureau.—A place for public business; a department.

Bureaucracy.—A Government run by departments, each under a chief.

Bureaucrat.—One who governs through a department.

C.

Ca' Canny.—To go slow; to waste time, and to reduce output of work deliberately. A policy widely in use by trade-unionists; sometimes with the excuse that it means employment for more men than possible with an honest day's work; sometimes dictated by the policy of making business unprofitable for capitalists.

Capitalism.—The existing social system, based on the rights of private ownership of land and property, common to all civilised countries hitherto.

Card Vote.—A trade-union method of voting by blocks which gives often an absolutely false idea of the real majority opinion. For instance: Three miners' lodges, voting on the question of Conscription in 1916, gave a majority in one lodge against the Bill, with 33 persons present, of 1; in the second lodge, with 14 persons present, a majority of 2; in the third lodge, 16 persons, a majority of 6: this result is registered at the general Mining Congress as an adverse vote of 2,700 members of the three lodges, out of whom only 63 voted in all in the three lodges. It is, of course, very easy to manipulate the lodge meetings of the very small proportion of the members who take the trouble to vote.

Casualization.—The condition of labour when only irregularly employed.

Caucus.—A meeting to start any political movement; a small body of organisers who arrange together the actions of a political party.

C.C.C.C.—The Christian Counter-Communist Crusade. An organisation to oppose Communism from the Christian standpoint.

C.G.T.—Conféderation Générale du Travail. A French federation of trade-unions, including all the violent elements of labour. (See **Syndicalism.**)

(To be continued.)

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COMMUNIST ATTACK ON LONDON.

The appalling rise in rates is the outward and visible sign of the continued efforts of Socialist-Labour to cultivate nationalisation in the heart of the Empire—with Communism for the country generally as ultimate aim. Russia has been no warning to our Collectivists, who, through weakness of Government and public apathy, are now really directing the country's policy in all foreign, social, and industrial questions.

The *London Labour Party*—which, if not openly Communist, depends on Communists for its driving power—is very efficiently organised to contest all seats at the London County Council elections in March. The ratepayers sleep while the attack is preparing; and they may awake only to curse impotently the general nature of things, which most of them accept without fighting to prevent.

The *London Municipal Society*, of which Viscount Farquhar is the President, and which has absorbed the *National Union of Ratepayers' Associations*, has done splendid work in organising contests against the enemies of economy in former elections; and it is now busy in preparing the London campaign against Socialist-Labour. This Society is deserving of support by every ratepayer, as well as by every person opposed to attacks on Religion, Capitalism, and Industry. Particulars should be sent for at once, addressing the *Secretary, London Municipal Society, Palace Chambers, Westminster.*

AFFAIRS IN EGYPT.

A correspondent in Egypt writes that the recent display of firmness has, like all similar signs of wobbling on the part of our Government, laid Britain open to charges of going back on her word. The people are utterly unfitted for the talk of self-government they have been treated to by our Labour delegates, and others; and the native police and army have proved useless for maintaining order, of which young students are the chief disturbers. Political weakness in Egypt reacts by increased sedition in India.

Egypt is only one of the points of danger which are being created for the whole Empire by the new system of directing the Foreign Office and War Office through personal and political influences. The British Empire was built up with the aid of Honour, Justice, and Common-sense; it is in a fair way of being brought down through Intrigue, Wobbling, and Wizardry.

POLITICAL.

All parties seem to be in a state of unstable equilibrium. Fissures and regroupings are talked about everywhere; but amidst all the talk one outstanding fact is evident: and that is the existence of a very widespread disgust at the moral cowardice in most politicians of the day. They are afraid of being patriots; afraid of facing Socialists masquerading as Labour; afraid of denouncing political extravagance; afraid of what America might think; afraid of calling crime by its name.

There is an increasing cry for some leadership based on plain Sunday-school morals of right and wrong, combined with an impartial application of the laws of the land, to replace our present established practice of condoning any crimes or favouritism if well supported politically. Such growing discontent can be ignored by the party leaders until it is either organised enough to be formidable, or unless it threatens revolt in an approaching general election. Organisation is only possible with active leaders, money, and time; but revolt can be arranged more readily through the work of patriotic people in every constituency who are now awake, and can insist on assurances from candidates as the price of a united party vote.

The exact political line to be followed by this paper will be determined by the programmes adopted by the different party leaders; but it can be stated definitely that the course to be followed will be such as to promote patriotism, freedom, constitutionalism, reconstruction of industry by freeing it from Government meddling, and reduction of taxation. The country wants rest, freedom, and economy, and it wants more honesty in high places.

INCOME-TAX.

There is no political subject so important to most people as that of income-tax, and none on which there is such anger expressed and such strong desire felt to make that anger known to the Government. Politicians, from long experience, are not worried about the feelings of the general unorganised public—though showing some little nervousness if a general election is approaching. They know that party politics will divide the people on some other issue, and prevent combined action. The Income Taxpayers' Society, described on page 12, is an organisation founded to protect the interests of every income taxpayer, and should receive universal support.

THE PATRIOT

No. 1.—Vol. 1. 9 FEBRUARY, 1922. PRICE SIXPENCE.

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